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ABSTRACT

A study examined shared reading discourses as part of an ongoing research project seeking to understand the sociolinguistic complexity of literacy practices at home and school for a number of specific families. Subjects included three socially and culturally diverse families who shared story reading events, constructed meanings about literacy, and engaged in sociolinguistic practices to support literacy and their children's educational opportunities. Findings suggest that the sociolinguistic complexity of literacy support that adults offer makes it difficult to make simplistic statements concerning the impact of any differences identified across literacy contexts or repeated occurrences of the same type of literacy event within a single context. Additional research can benefit from detailed discourse analysis, which offers a method for in-depth examination of sociolinguistic strategies and opportunities for identifying changes needed in home and school pedagogical practices. Appendixes contain a transcription symbol key; abbreviations, symbols, and definitions used in discourse analysis; and the three transcriptions. (Contains 35 references.) (Author/EF)

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# Three families, multiple discourses: Examining differences in the literacy practices of home and school

*Trevor Cairney and Jean Ashton*

## Abstract

Literacy exists and is developed in rich sociocultural contexts. It is not simply a unitary cognitive skill, but rather, it is a social practice manifesting itself in a variety of social and cultural contexts. To understand what it means to be literate more fully, we need to consider the people who use it and the way it is constructed, defined and supported in varied contexts. In this paper we share part of an ongoing research project that has sought to understand the sociolinguistic complexity of literacy practices at home and school for a number of specific families.

This study examines the discourses of members of three families as they engage in shared reading activities. The families are unique both socially and culturally, and construct meanings about literacy according to their own ways of experiencing and using it. As well, they engage in sociolinguistic practices to support literacy learning and further their children's educational opportunities.

The data was gathered as part of a large-scale study involving multiple ethnographies (Cairney & Green, 1997). The paper reports on an exploration of the nature of literacy practices in three diverse families. Specifically, it looks at the discourses families engage in as they supported children's literacy understanding during shared story reading events. These events were examined to ascertain matches and mismatches between the sociolinguistic and pedagogic approaches used at home and at school. Data have been collected systematically over a period of 24 months from two primary school sites and eight families in the western region of Sydney.

Our discourse analysis of shared reading events for these three families suggest that the diversity evident across these transcripts reflects the complex ways in which discourse matches and mismatches occur for individual children across the multiple contexts within which they acquire and use literacy. We found for example, that while two families relied on implicit understandings of literacy that shared much in common, the strategies employed in supporting shared reading varied quite significantly. Furthermore, our analysis showed that while such events could be examined in terms of the cognitive support that parents offered, this in no way reflects the full complexity of what parents are doing as they support their children's reading.

What our analysis demonstrates is that the sociolinguistic complexity of literacy support that adults offer, makes it difficult (indeed unwise) to make simplistic statements concerning the impact of any differences that one identifies across literacy contexts or even repeated occurrences of the same type of literacy event within a single context.

Hence, one could assume that where there is congruence between the pedagogical practices found at home and at school, this must also reflect a degree of intersubjectivity, developed through the parents' own experience of school, parent education programs and involvement in children's education. However, such a superficial analysis without greater attention to the discourse practices, leaves us with only part of the picture. Detailed discourse analysis of the kind we have undertaken offers us the power to look more deeply at the sociolinguistic strategies that are being employed. This in turn offers us opportunities to identify how pedagogical practices need to change both in the home and at school in order to more fully support all students as literacy users.

## Introduction

Conceptions of literacy and the way literacies are defined and used, exist and are developed in rich sociocultural contexts. Literacy is not simply a unitary cognitive skill, but is rather a social practice manifesting itself in a variety of social and cultural contexts (Gee, 1990; Cairney, 1995; Cairney & Ruge, 1998).

To understand what it means to be literate we need to consider the people who use literacy. Adopting a social constructivist perspective we see that literacy is constructed and defined by members of groups as they engage in different literate practices for specific purposes and encompasses the diversity such groups bring with them (Bruner, 1986; Gee, 1990). This places an emphasis on how literacy comes to be viewed by members of social and cultural groups through their participation in the literate activities within these groups. Moll (1993) suggests that this perspective shifts the focus of learning and literacy away from the individual to learning as participation within a "community of practice".

Identity within a cultural group is both shaped by and shapes beliefs, values and practices as individuals share interactions and adapt their thinking as they make sense of their experiences (Au, 1993). Schools, classrooms, families and communities can all be understood as cultural groups constructing their own views of literacy and what it means to be literate (Cairney & Ruge, 1998).

## Family Literacies

Families construct and use literacy in ways which will differ according to a range of factors including socioeconomic levels, ethnicity, educational history, family stability, gender and health. The literacy values and practices of families have the potential to "shape the course of children's literacy development in terms of the opportunities, recognition, interaction and models available to them" (Hannon, 1995, p. 104). Although recognising that there is as much diversity within groups such as families, as across them (Breen, Louden, Barrat-Pugh, Rivalland, Rohl, Rhydwen, Lloyd & Carr, 1994; Cairney, Lowe & Sproats, 1995), a wide diversity of home literacy practices exist. While identifying the distinctive nature of home literacies, Barton (1997) found that literacies from other domains, such as work or school, were frequently carried out at home. This in turn was the base from which individuals moved out into other domains.

It has been recognised that the most academically successful students are those whose family literacy practices are most congruent with school literacy practices. The corollary to this is that when home and school literacy practices are incongruent, it is thought that academic success may be compromised. Numerous studies in recent times have focused on unity of

literacy practice and conception, and its contribution to academic success. Cairney and his colleagues (Cairney, 1995; Cairney, Ruge, Buchanan, Lowe & Munsie, 1995; Cairney & Ruge, 1998), Galda, Cullinan and Strickland (1997) and others note that when school and family cultures match there is a mutuality of concern and understanding and literacy links are easier to forge. When there are mismatches, greater effort on the part of the school is required to ensure students' success.

There is a danger here of perceiving families as deficit in literacy understanding and in turn, creating an agenda for schools which seeks to address these. Even parents who have little formal education contribute significantly to their children's literacy understanding, (Auerbach, 1997; see also Barton, 1997). Auerbach found that while school staff felt it unlikely that some students received home academic support, in reality most parents desire their children to do well and go to great lengths to help them succeed.

Even amongst "dominant culture members", efforts to recognise and build upon home literacies are worthwhile. For instance, Harste (1997) recalls marveling as his son grew into literacy, acquiring a wealth of knowledge and understanding as he interacted with his father and others within his environment. The only "downside" according to Harste, was schooling, which was perceived as irrelevant, stifling creativity and hindering learning as it attempted to force use of the dominant discourses of the school.

## School Literacies

Schools and classrooms are dynamic, interactional environments where individuals meet together for the purpose of schooling (Green, Kantor & Rogers, 1991). Situated definitions of what it is to be a teacher or a student, to gain knowledge and acquire values, are mutually constructed through interactions within the culture of the classroom with its own unique system of values, beliefs and standards (Au, 1993). Students' conceptions of literacy based on the literate actions in which they engage outside the classroom, may be supported or constrained by school-based literacies, depending on their congruence (Santa Barbara Discourse Group, 1992).

In school, literacy is seen as central to many classroom activities and is viewed as an object of study in that it is both explicitly discussed and implicitly taught in all curriculum domains (Puro & Bloome, 1987). This differs markedly from home literacies, like jotting down a telephone number or reading a recipe. Home literacy is rarely explicitly evaluated, rather it is deemed successful if it serves its purpose (Barton, 1997).

Puro and Bloome (1987) note that the implicit nature of classroom communication is often overlooked, however it impacts greatly on instruction and what is learnt in school. Literacy is often used within the context of instruction and is constructed by teachers and students as they interact and learn about the "academic and social processes for acquiring knowledge and new learning strategies" (p.28). In this manner the object of study is embedded in the context of communication (both explicit and implicit) thereby effectively broadening the message.

Luke (1995) offers an explanation of why differences between the literacy practices of home and those explicitly and implicitly experienced by schools should influence academic success. He argues that when certain interactional patterns and textual practices are clearly preferred, they have the potential to systematically exclude students who may be economically marginalised or culturally different. Although such students may be highly literate within their own social or cultural sphere, limiting assessment to specific literacy practices, disadvantages many students (Coe, 1995).

## Bridging the divide: Support for literacy at home

Rogoff (1990), building on the work of Vygotsky (1978), claimed that we teach and learn from others by communicating through the use of language. She notes that guided participation in culturally valued activities supports intersubjectivity, or a sharing of focus and purpose between children and more skilled partners to accomplish a stated goal. Referring to this as "effective pedagogical practice", Ladson-Billings (1995a; 1995b), Cummins (1986) and Cairney and Ruge (1998) highlight the importance of collaborative culturally relevant pedagogy in order to empower students to assume greater control over their own learning.

Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976), Gardner (1994), Rogoff (1990) and others have highlighted some of the distinctive features of an effective school-based pedagogy designed to support higher-level cognitive skills. As Cairney (1995) notes, these functions easily transform into terms, which relate to literacy. For example, it is essential to 'recruit' or engage students in reading tasks, to reduce the degrees of freedom or simplify tasks and to offer immediate and constructive feedback. Highlighting relevant elements or marking critical features, enables reflection on discrepancies between a student's performance and the ideal, and the control of frustration and risk ensures that failure does not become endemic, thereby destroying motivation and damaging self-esteem. Lastly, demonstration or modelling idealised versions of the acts or skills under discussion, in conjunction with dialogic explanation, is another distinctive feature of school-based pedagogy.

Given that schools and families are unique cultural entities in their own right, it is logical to assume that each develops a pedagogical approach consistent with its own experience and point of reference. It is the congruence or otherwise between home, community and school pedagogies which possibly has more to do with educational success or failure than any perceived deficit in either cultural, social or personal conditions (Au, 1993; Cairney & Ruge, 1998; Cummins, 1986). The differences or mismatches in literacy pedagogy may work against students' literacy learning, however where home and school pedagogies match, cultural continuity is likely to facilitate greater academic achievement.

A study of homework practices, and in particular, the sharing of reading, highlights some of the matches and mismatches in the pedagogical approaches adopted by parents and schools in respect of literacy. In the school environment, effective shared reading is purposeful and collaborative, accompanied by dialogue supportive of children's endeavours. Children become active participants encouraged by adults to make predictions, experiment with sounds, take risks and contextualise text (Galda, Cullinan & Strickland, 1997).

Reading at home frequently offers dialogic support in a similar manner. Indeed, given that shared reading at home often occurs with just one or two children, family support can provide richer stimulation and clearer explanation than is possible within the confines of a busy classroom. Where this is not the case however, differences between the literacy support approaches offered at home and within schools, can lead to conflict and confusion for children. Rather than pedagogical consistency, a seamless continuum of experiences between home and school, instructional processes become fragmented and learning issues left unattended.

This study examines the discourses of members of three families as they engage in shared reading activities. As families are unique both socially and culturally, and construct meanings about literacy according to their own ways of experiencing and using it, literacy conceptions are essentially reflected sociolinguistically through their pedagogy as reading is shared.

## Methodology

Drawn from data gathered as part of a large-scale study involving multiple ethnographies (Cairney & Green, 1997), this paper reports on an exploration of the nature of literacy practices in three diverse families. Specifically, it looks at the discourses families engage in as they supported children's literacy understanding during shared story reading events. These events were examined to ascertain matches and mismatches between the sociolinguistic and pedagogic approaches used at home and at school.

Data have been collected systematically over a period of 24 months from two primary school sites and eight families in the western region of Sydney[1]. The brief transcripts discussed in this paper are drawn from a much larger data set gathered for each family, which together includes:

- fieldnotes of 74 hours of observations gathered in homes
- 16 hours of videotaped interactions involving different family members
- 85 hours of audio recorded interactions between family members gathered by them acting as co-researchers;
- literacy artifacts and other documents.

Videotaped and audiotaped interactions have been transcribed and along with fieldnotes, have been coded using the qualitative data analysis software QSR NUD*IST[2]. Although all data gathered as part of the larger study have been transcribed, only selected portions representing the social elements being discussed, have been included in this paper. To fully exemplify the interactions represented in these transcripts, symbols have been included to show speech acts, phonemic dimensions, comments by the researcher and indicators of individuals' roles and relationships (based on Heritage, 1984 and Silverman, 1993). For key to transcription symbols refer to Appendix 1.

The transcripts selected for this paper demonstrate the pedagogical approach adopted by mother (Sorensen and Wiltshire families) or father (Trapp family) to support home reading. Although specifically focusing on shared reading events in these examples, each transcript is representative of the approach used in general by the families in support of learning at home. Other events detailed in the larger data set include homework supervision, computer work and playing games such as 'Scrabble' and 'Find-a-word'.

The methodology used in the project involves a multi-step process (see Cairney & Ruge, 1998). The first step was to construct event maps representing the ways members of each family engages in literacy over time. The second step was to prepare a domain analysis (Spradley, 1980) to identify the range of activities used as participants engage in literacy and the way it was shaped by the discourse. Domain analysis is fundamental to microanalysis and "draws on the cultural significance of linguistic symbols to create and maintain shared meaning" (Coffee & Atkinson, 1996, p.89). It was from this stage of the analysis that transcripts relating to shared reading were identified.

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[1] Data for the Sorensen family were gathered by Dr Nora White, a post-doctoral research fellow, during the first years of the study, and an integral member of the research team.

[2] NUD*IST is a registered trademark of software designed to support the management and analysis of data allowing coding, searching and testing and provides an environment for creating and experimenting, questioning and theorising with a range of ideas.

The third step was a message by message, microanalysis which involved asking a series of questions (Cairney & Ruge, 1998; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992). Questions relating to the roles and relationships of participants, time and space, conditions for communicating, goals and purpose, outcomes of the interactions and links between home and school were addressed. Within this stage itself an analysis of multiple layers of discourse occurs. By using a multi analysis process, the ways participants construct events through their actions and interactions are made visible (Green & Wallat, 1981; Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Kelly, Green & Crawford, 1996) (See Appendices 3.1; 3.2; 3.3).

Within this paper three families are discussed and a detailed microanalysis is presented to demonstrate the sociocultural richness of literacy interactions. Transcribed data have been viewed with due consideration of the broader family context (See Families 1, 2 & 3). The overall meaning apparent from each transcribed event has also been determined and finally, a contextual analysis of the messages contained therein has been conducted.

What the transcripts demonstrate is the way families construct and support literacy in this context. Cairney and Ruge (1998) found that participants in literacy events adopt different roles and relationships and engage in interactions that are driven by specific norms, expectations and accepted ways of participating. This can vary across literacy events and contexts for literacy and has significance for the extent to which such events contribute to positive literacy learning experiences.

The coding system used to analyse these strategies draws upon the work of Green and Wallat (1981) and Bloome & Egan-Robertson (1993) and enabled us to identify 5 categories of message units, 25 strategy definitions at the level of action units, and when applied specifically to literacy, it enables identification of 7 literacy aspects (refer to Appendix 2).

## Family 1 - The Sorensen Family

Val Sorensen and her two children lived in a small rented cottage in Jonestown, close to the school. Andrew was 7 years old at the time of the study and in 2nd grade. Tori, Andrew's sister was 6 years of age and in 1st grade. Both children were bright and intelligent, achieving at an average or above average academic level. On occasion Val's teenage son Ricki who was approximately 17 years of age was also at the house although he did not live there permanently. Val had experienced a number of hardships in her life including the loss of a daughter many years ago from SIDS at 4 and 1/2 months.

Val was described by the Community Liaison Officer attached to the school, as being manic depressive. Subsequent events within the family certainly indicated significant mental

health problems. At one stage she was seen to be undermining some of the initiatives established by the Community Liaison Officer and was thought to be trying to dissuade parents from participating in our research. A constant talker, Val was always ready to offer an opinion on a range of issues. She held views about the management of the school, classroom discipline, homework issues, assessment and feedback and numerous other matters. Val spoke proudly of her own parenting efforts, and her demands of obedience from the children. Harsh punishment was swiftly administered when they broke the rules and the children were often humiliated to the point of tears by her sharp tongue as their faults were catalogued. She held strong views about the role of parents in education and spoke at length about the need for them to spend more time supporting their children.

Val talked constantly about the time she spent with Andrew and Tori, whom she knew to be intelligent children and as a parent, she saw her role as working hard to extend their abilities through homework assistance. Having participated in the TTALL[3] program, Val felt justified in her condemnation of others who had not done so. She enjoyed helping children to read at school, and remarked that she should go into the tutoring business. Val perceived herself as very smart and other parents in the school as less able.

Home was a fairly chaotic environment, constantly filled with the smoke from Val's endless cigarettes. The house typically untidy and was littered with ash trays full of cigarette ends, furniture was old, newspapers and clothes. There was a bookcase with adult novels and children's books, including a dictionary and other children's reference books. Each child had a collection of storybooks and school-based material was stacked about. A wall in the eating area displayed a corkboard that held awards commemorating the children's achievements at school. On the wall a 'star chart' was also displayed. This was an incentive scheme designed to encourage positive behaviours at home and at school. A $2 reward was offered when 20 stars had been earned for obedience, politeness and attentiveness.

Val's patience was limited and at times her self-control wavered when speaking to adults and children alike. She was loud in her speech and frequently questioned the children, leaving them little time to answer, before moving on to respond herself and extend with further questions and explanations. Although expletives were part of her vocabulary, Val was indignant when there was even a hint of such expression in her children's language.

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[3] The Talk to a Literacy Learner (TTALL) Program was developed by Cairney & Munsie as part of a study funded by the New South Wales state government to support home and community relationships. The program is in widespread use within Australian schools as an educational program designed to introduce parents to strategies that can be used to support their children's literacy learning (Cairney & Munsie, 1992).

When things were calm in the home, Val enjoyed a lovely relationship with the Andrew and Tori. They were clearly very fond of her and listened with great attention when she read to them or told stories.

The event transcribed below demonstrates the way Val typically supported her children as they read home and school-based texts. The event involved Val working with Tori (aged 6 years) in a shared reading session. The reading took place in the kitchen, the place where most homework and other family events occurred. This shared reading event was representative of many similar events occurring throughout the week as part of the homework routine, and family story times.

As with the other reading events examined in this paper, the interactions examined provide an insight into constructions of literacy. Family 1 transcript is from the shared reading of a text Tori had chosen entitled "Mouse Monster". This picture book was at an appropriate level for a 1st grade reader.

**Transcript 1 – The Sorensen Family (lines 001-192)**

01. *Mum:* *Okay, what book have you got today?*
02. *Tori:* *Mouse Monster*
03. *Mum:* *OK, Read it for Mumma*
04. *Tori:* *Mouse Monster (.5)*
05. *Mum:* *Andrew, you gonna listen to this or what?*
06. *Andrew:* *Um, yeah ((in the distance))*
07. *Tori:* *The leaves was blowing in a, in the (.2) wind. The big (.6) l::ea:ves and little leaves, brown and red leaves and yellow leaves (.) they (.2) then?*
08. *Mum:* *when*
09. *Tori:* *When (.5)*
10. *Mum* *Sound it out*
11. *Tori:* *'k'*
12. *Mum:* *No, sound it out (.3) not letter (.3) 'k' ((letter sound))*
13. *Tori:* *Ka::t::ie*
14. *Mum:* *Right, well what's the word?*
15. *Tori:* *Katie*
16. *Mum:* *Katie*
17. *Tori:* *now (.) played (.) in (.) them. Then they cr::ied and cried*
18. *Mum:* *They? (.3) What did they do? (.2) What did they do?*
19. *Tori:* *Cr::i::*
20. *Mum:* *Cr:ick:led*
21. *Tori:* *Crickled and crickled*
22. *Mum:* *Uh, Uh! Cr:a=*
23. *Tori:* *=ckled*
24. *Mum:* *Right, now what is it?*
25. *Tori:* *They crickled and crackled*
26. *Mum:* *Good girl! Good girl!*
27. *Tori:* *Kate*
28. *Mum:* *No!*
29. *Tori:* *Katie*
30. *Mum:* *That's good!*



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31. Tori: Mouse (.2)
32. Mum: I don't think mouse is there is it? Can you see the word mouse=
33. Tori: =No=
34. Mum: = or are you adding one?
35. Tori: Adding one
36. Mum: Ooh, Dear me! (.) Let's start that one again!
37. Tori: Katie (.5)
38. Mum: Come on baby! (.2) Now remember when there's=
39. Tori: made!
40. Mum: That's a good girl.
41. Tori: h::ou::s, holes in one leaf. (.2) That was her (.5)
42. Mum: Sound it! M::ar::s::
43. Tori: mask. She made holes in (.6)
44. Mum: That one's a hard one. Andrew can you help Tori with that word? That's one of your special words
45. Andrew: An:oth:er
46. Mum: Another
47. Tori: Another leaf. (.3) That (.) she
48. Mum: No!
49. Tori: That was her hat. She made holes her=in some little leaves. There (.2)
50. Mum: That one's a bit hard. <u>These</u>
51. Tori: These want
52. Mum: pardon me?
53. Tori: went on her tail.
54. Mum: Good girl!
55. Tori: Kate
56. Mum: Pardon me?
57. Tori: Katie (.2) Mo:: (.4) Mouse? Di::
58. Mum: d:a:n:ced
59. Tori: danced around=
60. Mum: =pardon me? U:n:d:er
61. Tori: oh
62. Mum: u:n:d:er
63. Tori: under? the (.2) swing (.) and she d:a:n:=
64. Mum: =As she danced
65. Tori: she crackled?
66. Mum: No. Look at the word.
67. Tori: cri:ck:led and crackled. I am a Mouse (.) Monster she (.) sang. (.6) She danced into (.) the (.) Mouse house. Mother?
68. Mum: Mumma!
69. Tori: Mumma mouse (.) was (.) making ( )
70. Mum: c:a:k:e=
71. Tori: =cake=
72. Mum: =s
73. Tori: cakes. Katie ( )
74. Mum: Tori please!
75. Tori: cr:::ickled and crackled as:keed
76. Mum: asked
77. Tori: asked Mumma (.) Mouse.
78. Mum: That was a really good try for asked, darlin', OK?
79. Tori: No, sh::ooted=
80. Mum: =sh:ou:ted
81. Tori: shouted Katie. This is a big mouse monster.
82. Mum: very good!
83. Tori: It (.) is (.)said Mumma Mouse. (.4) Why did (.2) did (.2) didn't I see that before. ((giggles)) I am w:ild ((spoken with shortened vowel))

84. Mum: *Right, now that's wild*
85. Tori: *Wild*
86. Mum: *Wild ((said with shortened vowel)) is very good darling. You did try very hard, but that one goes to its name not to its sound. English is a very, very hard language to learn.*
87. Tori: *wild and (.9)*
88. Mum: *That's sav:::age*
89. Tori: *savage*
90. Mum: *Good*
91. Tori: *said (.) the (.) Mouse Monster::: I (.) am (.)*
92. Mum: *fierce*
93. Tori: *fierce and*
94. Mum: *ferocious*
95. Tori: *ferocious*
96. Mum: *Oh, they're very hard words to say, aren't they?*
97. Tori: *And I am going to eat you:: ((giggles)) Qoh said Mumma Mouse. I must=*
98. Mum: *Okay now we gotta try and sound this one, es::c:a::pe*
99. Tori: *escalate?*
100. Mum: *es::cape*
101. Tori: *escape*
102. Mum: *escape*
103. Tori: *and (.) she (.) hid (.) under the*
104. Mum: *what's that? Now remember when there's a 'e' ((name))=*
105. Tori: *TROUBLE*
106. Mum: *No, when there's a, where's a 'r' ((sound)) When there's a 'e' ((name)) on the end, the vowel, and what are your vowels can you remember what ya vowels are?*
107. Tori: *AEIOU ((names))*
108. Mum: *Good girl! when there is a 'e' ((name)) on the end, the vowels go to their name, not to their sound. Okay, so, t ((sound)) a ((name)) ble ((sound combination))*
109. Tori: *Table*
110. Mum: *Good girl!*
111. Tori: *And she hid under the table.*
112. Mum: *Good girl!*
113. Tori: *Mouse monster a::*
114. Mum: *a::((name)) look at the word=*
115. Tori: *=ate a cake (.2) then (.4) dan::ced ((trying to pronounce darnced))*
116. Mum: *danced ((pronounced denced))*
117. Tori: *How come the 'a' sounds like an 'e'?*
118. Mum: *No, the 'a' doesn't sound like an 'e'. It sounds like an 'a'. Because dance has a 'e' on the end, so you have to make the 'a' ((sound)) an 'a' ((name)). Remember?*
119. Tori: *Danced ((pronounced denced))*
120. Mum: *That's right!*
121. Tori: *I can't see an 'e' ((name)) in it.*
122. Mum: *D::an::ced=*
123. Tori: *=D:e:n:ced*
124. Mum: *yeah, it is denced, Oh I dunno, OK, then danced*
125. Tori: *Ou::out::side*
126. Mum: *Good girl!*
127. Tori: *Pa:ppa*
128. Mum: *What is it?*
129. Tori: *Pappa Mouse was (.2) hiding?*
130. Mum: *It's 'a' ((sound)) (.5) h:a:ng:i:ng*
131. Tori: *hanging the washing on the line. (.2) Pass (.) please*
132. Mum: *No! (.2) You said that word.*
133. Tori: *Plug?*
134. Mum: *Pass*
135. Tori: *Pass me (.) a p:i:*

136. Mum: P:e:
137. Tori: peg
138. Mum: Tori! (.5) p:l:ea::
139. Tori: please? Katie (.) he said. I am not Katie. I am a tr:: ouble?
140. Mum: t:e:rr:: Sound it!
141. Tori: terr::ible?
142. Mum: Good girl!
143. Tori: terrible Mouse Monster::::
144. Mum: Tori!
145. Tori: with sharp teeth she cried, I can see what (.3), I can see that now said Pappa Mouse. Get away from me you (.2) horrible monster, and Pappa hid behind the sheet.
146. Mum: Good girl!
147. Tori: K:K:Katie la:::
148 Mum: laughed
149. Tori: laughed (.) and laughed and she danced in the lea::ves. Cry::
150. Mum: No, cr::ick:
151. Tori: crickle!
152. Mum: Read the book!
153. Tori: Crick::
154. Mum: Crickling
155. Tori: Crickling and crackling. (.4) Then (.) a big (.5) gu:::s::
156. Mum: No! What is when you say () no its not an 'a' ((sound)). What is that?
157. Tori: 'g' ((name))
158. Mum: No, the next one.
159. Tori: 'u' ((name))
160. Mum: What is the sound?
161. Tori: 'u' ((sound)).
162. Mum: Right, now sound it!
163. Tori: G::u::s::t
164. Mum: Okay, say it quickly!
165. Tori: gust
166. Mum: gust
167. Tori: Then came a big gust of wind. It blew all the leaves in a ( ). (.2) Off came Katie's mask. Off came her hat. Off came her leaves from her tail. (.5). Katie Mouse was blown over and over and over in the wind. She was (.4) found?
168. Mum: No! (.3) Fri:::fright::::
169. Tori: frightened? Pappa Pappa she ca:::
170. Mum: What's that?
171. Tori: all
172. Mum: all! What's that?
173. Tori: crall?
174. Mum: No! where's the 'r' ((sound))? Sound it!
175. Tori: cr::: ((beginning to cry))
176. Mum: No! Not 'cr' ((sound combination)) WHAT IS THAT SOUND?
177. Tori: 'c' ((sound)) ((crying))
178. Mum: 'c' ((sound)). No, if that is 'all' ((sound combination)), what is that word?
179. Tori: c::all=
180. Mum: =c:all! c:all! Right!
181. Tori: called
182. Mum: Good girl.
183. Tori: I don't know that word.
184. Mum: Well what you've got do when you find a big word like that. If there's a little word inside it that you know, and if you do, then you take the first little bit, then the word and then the last little bit.
185. Tori: I am not (.3) all?
186. Mum: really

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 187. | Tori: | *really a monster. I am* |
| 188. | Mum: | *I'm!* |
| 189. | Tori: | *i'm your Katie Mouse. (.3) Pappa (.) la:::* |
| 190. | Mum: | *laughed* |
| 191. | Tori: | *laughed. Katie Mouse, I love you. I love (.) you (.) too, he said.* |
| 192. | Mum: | *Good girl. That was very good!* |

## Discussion

The interaction between Tori and her mother commences with a question "*Okay. What book have you got today?*" (Line 01) (Refer to Appendix 3.1 for complete message analysis). Tori is then invited to read it out loud with her mother 'guiding' the reading. An analysis of conversational units indicates the various strategies that she used to guide the performance. This allows us to examine the construction of literacy that is dominant in this event and the way literacy is being defined and supported.

What characterises this interaction is the extent to which Tori's mother relies on extending strategies that are very much at the word or sound level. In all, Tori's mother intervenes more than 35 times to direct her to "*sound out*" (Lines 10, 12, 42, 98, 138, 160, 162, 174), "*see* (or look at) *the word*" (Lines 14, 32, 66, 114, 170, 172, ), to give information on sound/symbol relationships or rules (Line 12, 20, 22, 58, 60, 62, 70, 80, 84, 88, 100, 104, 106, 118, 122, 130, 135, 156, 176, 178, 180) and on one occasion she has Tori's brother help by encouraging him to assist Tori with "*one of your special words*" (Line 44). Almost all of these interventions involve simple statements designed to focus Tori's attention on words or sounds to enable the 'performance' to continue to completion.

In contrast Tori's mother does not offer one evaluative comment or statement that deals with the meaning that is being constructed. However, she does encourage Tori with the task on no less than 33 occasions, but only in relation to its completion, not the engagement with the text. For example, she uses confirming strategies and encourages her to keep reading with statements like: "*let's start again*" (Line 36); '*right*' (Lines 14, 24, 84, 120, 162) "*come on baby*" (Line 38); '*that's a good girl*', '*good girl*' or '*good*' (Line 26, 30, 40, 54, 82, 90, 108, 110, 112, 126, 142, 182); by stating that the task is "*hard*" (Line 44, 86, 96) and hence encouraging her implicitly to keep going. Midway through the dialogue Mum says, "*that was a really good try for 'asked' darlin'*" (Line 78) and "*you did try very hard...*" (Line 86). At the completion of the reading Tori's mother noted "*that was very good!*" (Line 192).

A third type of intervention involved Tori's mother using confirmation or restatement by re-reading a word (lines 46, 76, 102, 116, 166), or phrase (lines 64) to help Tori continue with the task.

When one considers the role that Tori plays in the interaction it is very much the 'performer' completing the task. The analysis of message units shows an almost total absence of dialogue where Tori leads or initiates discussion. Only 7 clarifying statements were made by Tori in over 90 message units and there were no expressions of personal feeling, initiation of topics, focussing or restatements.

Rarely does Tori attempt to inject anything into the interaction beyond the reading of the words. On each of these occasions, she makes simple statements that serve to demonstrate her knowledge of sound/symbol relationships in response to her mother's help in this area (lines 107 and 117). In seeking clarification over the letter/sound relationship as she links the text with the spoken word 'dancing', Tori questions her mother about the text's use of the letter 'a' when she clearly hears her Mum pronounce the word with an 'e' (d[e]ncing). When challenged, Tori's mother is unable to clearly explain this anomaly. In attempting to do so she confuses the grammatical convention where an 'e' at the end of a word, lengthens the vowel contained within it. Tori's mother recognises that the explanation offered does little to enhance meaning for the child, and she quickly moves back to the story (Line 124) (See total interactions Table 1).

At a superficial level, the interactions evident in the transcript demonstrate support for the type of pedagogy often advocated by schools (see Wood Bruner & Ross, 1976; Gardner, 1994; Cairney, 1995). The child's interest has been recruited (Line 01), there are attempts at simplifying the task (e.g. Line 20), and Tori's mother has reduced the degrees of freedom to minimise frustration (e.g. Line 08). However, although somewhat strategic in her behaviour, what is missing from the dialogue between Tori and her mother, is the focus on the construction of meaning.

**Family 2 – The Wiltshire Family**

Michael and Anne Wiltshire along with their two little girls, Trisha and Ruby, are an upper middle class family, living comfortably in the Western Sydney region. Michael and Ann, in their early thirties are poised and confident in manner, and speak easily with teachers and other parents at Trisha's school. Trisha at six was gentle, self-possessed and articulate. Ruby, at the age of two, was also articulate, eager to say and do everything her big sister did.

Education is important to the Wiltshire family. Like most other parents, the Wiltshires desire the best for their children. Michael was educated at a private boy's school and later at University. Anne, born and raised in England completed A Levels at a private school, before travelling to Australia. Her return to England and University plans were interrupted by marriage and family. Anne does not work outside the home, preferring to spend time with the children and

helping at the school. Anne and Michael believe it is essential to support their children's literacy at home and they spend time reinforcing school-based activities. For example, when the letter 'o' was the subject of focus, they searched the internet for information about 'o' subjects, like ostriches, and even drove to an ostrich farm close by to see these birds and obtain a feather.

The children are acquainted with a range of literacy practices at home. Reading newspapers and books, scanning architectural plans, writing invoices and cheques, following recipes, computer work and television viewing are all familiar daily events. Literacy 'homework' is encouraged, although as this was not a requirement for kindergarten grade students, Trisha frequently set her own. Story writing and reading both school readers and story books from home are always favourite events.

The following transcript (numbered from 01 - 78) is from an audio recording of a shared book reading event when Trisha was in kindergarten. Mum (Anne), Trisha and Ruby were seated together with the story in the family room, where typically, homework and other shared experiences took place. Trisha has selected one of her own books, "The Big Alfie and Annie Rose Story Book" by Shirley Hughes.

**Transcript 2 – The Whiltshire Family (lines 01-78)**

*01. Mum:* *Which story are we reading?*
*02. Trisha:* *The "Big Alfie and Annie Rose Story Book"*
*03. Mum:* *Now Ruby, you sit still and look at the pictures, OK?((a directive to younger child))*
*04. Trisha:* *Breakfast! (.) Early one morning Alfie helps his (.)*
*05. Mum:* *Helped*
*06. Trisha:* *Helped his baby sister Annie Rose out of her cot and they went downstairs=Alfie*
*07. Mum:* *No! look at that! Fullstop! So take a breath.*
*08. Trisha:* *Alfie went down forwards without holding onto the (.) bars*
*09. Ruby:* *((gurgles in background))*
*10. Mum:* *Ban:nis:ter*
*11. Trisha:* *bannister. Annie Rose went down backwards, feet first. Dad was in the kitchen having his breakfast so Alfie and Annie Rose (.) enjoyed?*
*12. Mum:* *No, joined!*
*13. Trisha:* *joined him and had breakfast too. Alfie sat up and (.) at the table and in a proper chair. He had a ch:: china*
*14. Mum:* *Yes, good girl=*
*15. Trisha:* *=bowl with bears mar::, marching*
*16. Mum:* *Yes, good girl*
*17. Trisha:* *all around the edge. Annie Rose sat in her high chair with the tray in front. She had a place:::*
*18. Mum:* *plas::tic*
*19. Trisha:* *plastic drink:: mug*
*20. Mum:* *drink::ing*
*21. Trisha:* *drinking mug and bowl and her own little spoon*
*22. Mum:* *there she is sitting up in her chair ((pointing to illustration for Ruby))*

23. Ruby: *mine! ((gurgling happily – recognises highchair as being like her own))*
24. Mum: *where's the high chair? ((responding to Ruby))*
25. Trisha: *While Alfie was eating up his cereal, Annie Rose pre:tend:ed she was playing in a band. She tram:::*
26. Mum: *Dr::um:::ed*
27. Ruby: *Dum:::=*
28. Trisha: *=drummed her spoon on the tray. Ring a ding*
29. Ruby: *Ring, ding*
30. Trisha: *Bong a dong. And sang very loudly. More more more cried=*
31. Mum: *groaned doolay*
32. Trisha: *doolay?*
33. Mum: *it 's just baby words, really, not proper words*
34. Trisha: *Bad*
35. Mum: *Dad*
36. Trisha: *Dad*
37. Ruby: *Dad*
38. Trisha: *is*
39. Mum: *hid*
40. Trisha: *be::neath*
41. Mum: *No! What is that?*
42. Ruby: *beneath*
43. Mum: *be::hi::*
44. Trisha: *behind the Corn Flakes packet.*
45. Mum: *Mmm, good girl*
46. Trisha: *Annie Rose was singing and playing (.2) before?*
47. Mum: *because*
48. Trisha: *because it was so noisy ((tape off and on as Ruby interrupts the story))*
49. Trisha: *( ) with it in his bowl. Instead=*
50. Mum: *=instead. in his bowl instead.*
51. Trisha: *I said instead!*
52. Mum: *Mh, hh, I know!*
53. Trisha: *He made the crumble=*
54. Mum: *=Crumbly*
55. Trisha: *Crumbly biscuits into an 'is' ((sound combination))*
56. Mum: *I((name)) land! It sounds like 'I' ((name)) land but the 's' ((name)) is silent. It is island. That's what it looks like doesn't it?*
57. Trisha: *island, with a sea of milk all around. But soon the island got all soccy and (.1) soggy, and he gave each bear a piece of it (.) with the tip of his spoon. Alfie*
58. Mum: *No!*
59. Trisha: *I said Alfie?*
60. Mum: *No, its not Alfie*
61. Trisha: *After (.) that (.) brek, his breakfast looked rather messy*
62. Mum: *After that his breakfast looked rather messy. Well it did too, didn't it?*
63. Trisha: *Mh, mh*
64. Mum: *Would you like me to read one page*
65. Trisha: *Yep*
66. Mum: *Then Alfie kindly started to help Annie Rose with her breakfast. He filled up her drinking mug with milk. Annie Rose could drink out of it very well by herself, but when she held it up she started to drip the rest on her tray and on the floor. They had to get the floor cloth and mop it up. Annie Rose*
*Why don't you go and choose yourself a book, Ruby?((to distract Ruby))*

*Annie Rose could eat out of her bowl too when she wanted to. Alfie helped her hold her spoon up. But today she couldn't make up her mind where her breakfast was supposed to go. She tried putting it into her ear, then into her hair, then she started to spread it all over the place. Quite a bit of it went down her front.*
*Put it in here Annie Rose, said Alfie, opening his mouth very wide*

67. Trisha: *((continuing)) Then Annie Rose opened her mouth very wide (.) too*
68. Mum: *Then Annie Rose opened her mouth very wide too, and?*
69. Trisha: *And put (.2) in a big spoonful. Mummy it says 'spoon' and then it's got 'full'=.*
70. Mum: *=That's right, spoonful!=*
71. Trisha: *=a compound word,*
72. Mum: *spoonful*
73. Trisha: *spoonful of break::fast*
74. Mum: *Yes*
75. Trisha: *all by herself. Look Annie Rose (.3) is eating up her breakfast (.) shood=*
76. Mum: *=shouted*
77. Trisha: *shouted Alfie, eating his ( ).*
78. Mum: *Well done, that was beautifully done!*

## Discussion

Shared reading events in the Wiltshire household occur daily and are much loved times of fun and enjoyment for parents and children alike. While ultimately the most important goal of shared reading is to support the learning of both girls, this objective is consequent to, rather than motivation for this kind of family interaction. The explicit goal of shared reading in the Wiltshire family is for enjoyment. Enjoyment results as the participants engage in meaning making together.

The transcript of this literacy event suggests that the pedagogical approach adopted by the Wiltshire family is in many ways congruent with the meaning based approach to shared reading recommended by many schools (Refer to Appendix 3.2 for complete message analysis).

The sequence begins with a question, "*Which story are we reading*"? (line 01). The child's interest has already been recruited by engaging her in a story of her own choosing. The question is for Trisha, although Ruby, aged two is present and is also a keen participant in shared reading activities. Her interest is engaged as well and she is encouraged to follow the pictures as reading begins (line 03). Ruby is later asked to select her own book for sharing (embedded within conversation block 66) which serves a dual purpose at this point in time. Firstly, as Ruby's attention wavers, it helps her focus on a new goal, and secondly, by asking her to choose her own story, her interest is recruited afresh. Ruby's repeated phrases and squeals throughout the story (lines 09, 27, 29, 37, 42) are testimony to her active participation, however they rarely focus attention away from the story and generally pass without significant comment.

Trisha is a competent and confident reader, using voice to modulate expression and give emphasis. When uncertain of words she looks to the illustrations for context. In this example,

Trisha has used the word "*bars*" (line 08) for the more difficult and unfamiliar word "*bannister*" (line 10) and "*beneath*" (line 40) rather than "*behind*" (line 44) when referring to Dad hidden behind the Corn flakes packet. In the first case, Trisha's mother, although emphasising the syllables, simply offers the correct word as she does frequently throughout the story (see also lines 18, 20 & 26). This enables Trisha to continue the story without losing meaning. In the second case, Mother asks Trisha to look more closely, again breaking up the word into its sound components. When the illustrations offer no contextual support, Trisha looks to the story itself for context. For example, although the text read "*joined*" (lines 12 & 13), the word "*enjoyed*" used by Trisha (line 11), could have logically followed the preceding text. In all, to maintain the flow and ensure the text is meaningful Mother intervenes in this manner on 12 occasions.

Sometimes Mother leaves Trisha to determine words for herself. In lines 83 and 91 several seconds pass before Trisha responds. In the first example, Trisha recognises the word required as "*too*" (line 67), however she is less confident, miscuing on the second, when she says "*shood*" (line 75) rather than "*shouted*" (line 76). Trisha herself knows that successful reading can result when sounds are emphasised. When this occurs spontaneously (lines 13, 15, 25, 73) Trisha's Mother confirms her actions with, "*Yes, good girl*" (lines 14, 16). In line 78, when Trisha's mother says, *"Well done, that was beautifully done!"*, we can see that the object of her verbal praise is not Trisha herself, but her reading efforts. She also remarks, "*That's right!*" (line 70) when Trisha notes that "*spoonful*"" is a compound word, reinforcing this by repeating the word components.

What is evident in this interaction is that a seamless construction of the story is of greater concern to Trisha's mother, than focusing on letter/sound strategies. It is also apparent that Trisha and her Mother are engaged in meeting the goal together. Instead of merely 'performing' for an audience, Trisha questions the meaning of words (line 32), shows indignation when she feels her mother has misheard her (lines 51 and 59) and indicates agreement when reflecting on the illustration supporting the text (line 63). Furthermore, in line 71, we see it is Trisha who initiates discussion about the compound word (see total interactions Table 1).

As Wood et al. (1976), Gardner (1994) and Cairney (1995) note, marking critical features is an important pedagogical tool for facilitating understanding and learning independence. This is a strategy that Trisha's mother uses to effect on a number of occasions. For example, when she emphasises the syllables in *"plas::tic"* (line 18), *"drink::ing"* (line 20) and "*Drr::um::ed*" (line 26), she is not only focusing on the letter/sound combinations which produce meaningful words, but she is also modeling an appropriate strategy to support word understanding. It is inappropriate to focus solely on sounds however, when encountering a difficult word like 'island', and

experimentation often results in frustration rather than success. As Trisha begins to sound *'is'* ((with the shortened vowel 'i')) (line 55) Mother intervenes saying, *'I* ((letter name))*land! It sounds like is* ((shortened vowel)) *land but the 's' is silent, it is island. That's what it looks like doesn't it?"* (lines 55-56). Not only did she imply approval of Trisha's 'sounding it out' strategy *('I:s sounds like is')* and *('That's what it looks like doesn't it?')*, she has also been able to reduce frustration and simplify the task. Furthermore, Mother has taken the opportunity to discuss the anomalous nature of the structure of 'island', noting that *"'s' is silent"* in this instance.

Trisha's mother also uses repetition when sentences have been fragmented to ensure that these goals are met. In particular, this occurs as the story progresses and it ensures that the continuity of the story theme is maintained. For example, in line 50, Mother repeats Trisha's last words. Whereas Trisha had read *'with it in his bowl. Instead.'*, Mum changes the meter, repeating *'instead'. ...'in his bowl instead'.* Trisha's mother also repeats story line 61 (line 62) which Trisha has read with a number of pauses. This occurs again (lines 67 & 68).

In line 64, when Mother senses Trisha is becoming tired, she asks Trisha if she would like her to read for awhile. This serves a number of purposes. Firstly, the frustration over miscued words is reduced and motivation is maintained. Secondly, it serves as an effective demonstration of story book reading as Mother emphasises words and phrases where appropriate. Thirdly, as a more efficient reader, Trisha's mother reduces the overall length of time taken to read the story, thereby ensuring its retention in short term memory.

**Family 3 – The Trapp Family**

Susan and Matthew Trapp and their children, Colin, Julie, Karen and Tom lived in rented accommodation in Bullaton, a relatively new housing estate in Western Sydney. Susan and Matthew were in their early thirties, while Colin was nine, Julie was seven, Karen was five and Tom was four years of age. At the time of the study the family had recently been moved with the Australian Defence Force from Western Australia. The children were energetic, busy and demanding. Like many children they displayed sibling rivalry and there was much competition for their mother's time and attention. The two older children, Colin and Julie had been classified by the school as experiencing learning difficulties and each had been diagnosed with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. The ADHD was of greater concern at home than school where routines were more structured and classroom expectations more consistently reinforced.

Matthew had gone into the Defence Force straight from school, which he left after Year 10, and his education and training had ensued from there to the point where he became a specialist computer technician. Susan had university degree but had done little work since the

arrival of the children. Susan took the leading role in supporting her children's education although she found this a difficult task given the demands placed on her by the children and the sheer exhaustion she experienced much of the time. Matthew appeared to be aloof with his children and was a strict disciplinarian.

There were numerous literacy artifacts displayed in the house, but the children did not participate much in literacy activities with the exception of homework, which was generally considered a chore. They had access to the computer when their father was not at home, but as they rarely took the time to complete computer tasks to their ultimate end, this was a source of frustration rather than interest or satisfaction. The television and VCR were always popular and constantly playing. This formed a backdrop to every activity!

The following transcript (numbered 101-181) is from an audio recording of a shared book reading event. It is representative of several transcripts of shared reading events between either Mum or Dad and one of the older children. Here Dad and Colin are engaged with one of the Richard Scarry books. The tape picks up the dialogue some way into the story. The rationale behind selection of this section of transcript was entirely arbitrary. Extending over many pages this small section is typical of the dialogue found throughout the document.

**Transcript 3 – The Trapp Family (101-181)**

101. Colin: *Watched by Trevor, Juniper screamed::: screamed to a (.)*
102. Dad: *No*
103. Colin: *screeched to a halt in the wet cond::iti(.)t*
104. Dad: *No*
105. Colin: *wet cont::ain:d*
106. Dad: *No, we said it before!*
107. Colin: *wet con:cr:tained? (.2) wet conc::ret?*
108. Dad: *No!*
109. Colin: *Contained?*
110. Dad: *No!*
111. Colin: *Oh, what was it? ((beginning to whine))*
112. Dad: *What was he doing? What was he doing?*
113. Colin: *He was (.3) stopping?*
114. Dad: *No, What was Trevor doing before?*
115. Colin: *Oh (.2) he was concreting?*
116. Dad: *Yeah, OK so what is it?*
117. Colin: *Concreting (.) outside the café*
118. Dad: *No, say it again!*
119. Colin: *Concreting*
120. Dad: *No, he was concreting, but what does the word say?*
121. Colin: *Wet concrete outside the cafe. (.2) Digging?*
122. Dad: *No!*
123. Colin: *During the=*
124. Dad: *=No!*

125. Colin: *(.2) Dragging the hose from=*
126. Dad: *=No!*
127. Colin: *hose, the fireman pushed=*
128. Dad: *=No!*
129. Colin: *down=*
130. Dad: *=No*
131. Colin: *rashed (.) down*
132. Dad: *No!*
133. Colin: *the back=*
134. Dad: *=No! come on!*
135. Colin: *rushed round the back to the bonfire. What, what's going on at (.2) on at Bella's, (.) Bella's asked Norman coming out of the shop to watch. But it was too late. All that was left on the=*
136. Dad: *=No!*
137. Colin: *(.) left, left of the, Bella's pile (.) of rubbish with a few smoke (.2) as (.4) remaining*
138. Dad: *No! Start again, a few*
139. Colin: *smoking?*
140. Dad: *yeah*
141. Colin: *smoking (.2) rammage?*
142. Dad: *not quite!*
143. Colin: *rem:mai:ns,*
144. Dad: *Mmmm*
145. Colin: *remains and there was no sign of the briefcase. Well that's it said Fireman Sam. Three thousand pounds=*
146. Dad: *=No!*
147. Colin: *(.3) three hundred pounds up in smoke. We've never=*
148. Dad: *=No!*
149. Colin: *We'll=*
150. Dad: *=No*
151. Colin: *Smoke. I'll never (.) I'll never repair that=*
152. Dad: *=No!*
153. Colin: *I'll never repay that.(.7) Its (.2) as we*
154. Dad: *No!*
155. Colin: *As it, (.) as it's (.2) you=*
156. Dad: *=No*
157. Colin: *As (.) as it's (.2) for you (.) as it's for you Bella=*
158. Dad: *=No!*
159. Colin: *As, as it's for you (.) Bella (.) I'll give you=*
160. Dad: *=No!*
161. Colin: *I'll have one last go, one last go at this job. Trevor ag:red? Greed, agreed with a weari (.), wearing=*
162. Dad: *=No!*
163. Colin: *wetting?*
164. Dad: *No!*
165. Colin: *wearin?*
166. Dad: *close!*
167. Colin: *wear::y (.2) wear:y, weary?*
168. Dad: *Mmm*
169. Colin: *weary ( ) as he looked at the tyre marks in the wet concrete. But it's=*
170. Dad: *=No!*
171. Colin: *but this may=*

172. *Dad:* *=No*
173. *Colin:* *but this is my last try (.) again=*
174. *Dad:* *=No!*
175. *Colin:* *my last try. Anymore marks (.) with (.) with*
176. *Dad:* *No!*
177. *Colin:* *any more marks, (.3)anymore (.3) anymore marks will have to stay, stay!. He said?*
178. *Dad:* *No!*
179. *Colin:* *He didn't see Norman grinning (.) as he listened , listened around the concr::*
180. *Dad:* *No!*
181. *Colin:* *concrete?*

**Discussion**

This section of the interaction between Colin and his father commences as Colin reads from the text of the book (Refer to Appendix 3.3 for complete message analysis). As occurs frequently, Colin miscues "*screamed*" for "*screeched*" (lines 101 & 103). Coupled with the way Colin's father has dealt with these miscued words, so many interruptions to the text have meant that it has taken around 15 minutes to read just 20 short story lines. As a consequence of this, characters and context have long since been forgotten and recall of past events is slow.

The way Father responds to Colin's reading efforts suggests that he perceives his role as being an arbiter rather than guide or facilitator. His interaction is characterised by frequent "*no*" responses (recorded 31 times in this transcript) to Colin's attempts. While his responses highlight when a miscue has occurred, they offer no alternatives, nor do they prevent further miscues on the same word (lines 103, 105, 107; lines 161, 163, 165).

When Colin's father uses strategies to support his son's reading efforts he focuses on the correct structure of the word to provide meaning in the context of the story. For example, in Line 112 Father asks "*What was he doing. What was he doing?*" to encourage Colin to respond. It was the correct word, rather than the meaning behind the word that is being sought. When the child eventually gives the correct word, no evaluative comment is offered, nor is there confirmation or restatement to deal with the meaning that is being constructed. The degree to which Colin himself initiates interaction is minimal, and when he does ask "*Oh, what was it?*" (line 111), the response is constructed as another question. What is missing from this transcript is any indication of real engagement by Colin to suggest that he has gained understanding, enjoyed the experience or progressed in his reading (see total interactions Table 1).

Although the importance of engaging and maintaining children's interest in learning activities has been attested (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976; Gardner, 1994; Cairney, 1995), there is little evidence of this here. Rather than helping to maintain interest and engagement, Colin's Father's gruff "*no*" each time is likely to have the reverse effect. The few attempts to maintain

motivation with constructive feedback, for example, "*No start again, a few...*" (line 138), "*not quite*" (line 142), and "*No...close*" (line 161) are unlikely to have achieved their goal. Furthermore, while intended to keep Colin on task and focused on accurate reading, comments such as "*come on*" (line 132) only add to the frustration when there are difficulties in interpreting text. Moreover, rather than directing attention to the child's reading attempts, such comments emphasise personal behaviour which is likely to undermine confidence and reduce self-esteem.

In line 112, Colin's father asks, "*What was Trevor doing before?*" to which Colin replies hesitantly and questioningly, "*Oh (.4) he was concreting?*" (line 113). His Father's intention had been to direct Colin's thoughts back to a former line read several minutes earlier with the hope that recall of this line would offer sufficient clue to enable Colin to read "*Juniper screeched to a halt in the wet concrete outside the café*" (lines 101, 103 & 119 combined). Unfortunately, this intention was never clearly articulated as Father merely said, "*Yeah, so OK what is it?*" (line 114). When Colin replied, "*concreting outside the café*" (line 115) his father again said, "*No, he was concreting, but what does the word say?*" (line 118). As meaning had already been lost, and the illustrations offered no contextual support, Colin was uncertain about this link. When Colin ultimately did complete the sentence (line 119), no word of congratulation or encouragement was offered. Instead, Colin's father responded to the next miscued word (also in line 119) with another sharp "*No*".

Rather than help to control frustration and risk, which may have supported Colin's sense of achievement and offered a degree of success, his Father's pedagogic approach is likely to have had the reverse effect. Unable to model or demonstrate strategies such as breaking down words into smaller units or marking the critical features of words, by highlighting prefixes, suffixes or letter/sound relationships, Dad's approach is likely to support a maintenance of the status quo regarding Colin's reading. Colin is a poor reader, considerably weaker than many of his peers. He considers reading a chore because he "*can't do it right*".

The implicit goal of reading as demonstrated by this transcript of the Trapp family appears to be to encourage word accuracy even at the expense of meaning. This makes shared reading events trials to be endured rather than occasions for pleasure, a situation at odds with the school.

## Concluding Remarks

The data that we have presented provides an insight into the shared reading practices of three families. What they show is the diversity of such practices even though superficially, there is evidence of much common pedagogy. The transcripts also demonstrate the complex ways in

which discourse matches and mismatches occur for individual children across the multiple contexts within which they acquire and use literacy. Tori and her mother, along with Colin and his father regularly engage in literacy events driven by implicit constructions of literacy that are consistent with what Cairney & Ruge (1998) call "literacy as performance".

This type of communication is characterised by interactions in which one or more participants (usually children) are held accountable (usually by adults) for demonstrating a certain level of proficiency in a literacy related task (Cairney & Ruge, 1998). The focus of these interactions is very much on the performance of the task, rather than the construction of meaning. And yet, while similar constructions of literacy are evident there are many subtle differences in the discourse practices. As Table 1 shows, Colin's father and Tori's mother use different strategies, for example, Colin's father makes frequent uses of a rejection strategy, typically "No", whereas Tori's mother rarely uses this strategy. Tori's mother reads the text on 11 occasions whereas Colin's father does not read any part of the text throughout the entire interaction. Finally, Tori's mother makes good use of focusing strategies (on 33 occasions) whereas Colin's father barely uses this strategy at all (just 3 times).

**Table 1: Overview of strategic interactions during shared reading events by family**

| **Strategy definitions** (refer to Appendix 2 for detail) | **Sorensen Family** (192 message lines) | | **Wiltshire Family** (78 message lines) | | **Trapp Family** (78 message lines) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Mother** | **Tori** | **Mother** | ***Trisha*** | **Father** | **Colin** |
| 8. Allocate Turn | 1 | | | | | |
| 9. Bid for floor | | | | | | |
| 10. Clarifying | 2 | 6 | 2 | 2 | | 1 |
| 11. Confirming | 16 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| 12. Continuance | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |
| 13. Controlling | 3 | | 1 | | | |
| 14. Editing | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | |
| 15. Express Personal | 2 | | | | | |
| 16. Extending | 7 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| 17. Focusing | 33 | 9 | 10 | | 3 | |
| 18. Ignoring | | | | | | |
| 19. Initiate Conversation | | 1 | | | | |
| 20. Initiate Topic | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| 21.Other | | | | | | |
| 22. Refocusing | 8 | | | | 3 | |
| 23. Rejecting | 5 | | | | 28 | |
| 24. Requesting | 2 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 25. Restating | 2 | | 3 | 3 | | |
| 26. Propose: | | | 1 | | | |
| 27. Recognise: | | | | | | |
| 28. Acknowledgement | | 1 | 2 | | | |



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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29. Social Consequence | 1 | | | | | |
| 30. Words/Message | | | | | | |
| 31. Interactional Unit | | | | | | |
| 32. Genre | | | | | | |
| 33. Reading | 11 | 72 | 4 | 27 | | 38 |
| 34. Writing | | | | | | |
| 35. School text/ reader | | | | | | |
| 36. Home text | | | | | | |
| 37. School instruction or convention | | | | | | |
| 38. Text authority | | | | | | |
| 39. Other literacies | | | | | | |

Similarly when we contrast the transcripts from the Wiltshire and Sorensen families we see different constructions of literacy evident but quite common sociolinguistic strategies. Trisha and her mother engage in shared reading practices that reflect a construction of literacy consistent with what Cairney and Ruge (1998) have termed "literacy as negotiated construction of meaning". A quest for meaning drives their interaction around text. This is in contrast to the Sorensen family's emphasis on literacy as performance. And yet, when one examines the strategies employed by Trisha's mother they are quite similar, although there is evidence of Tori's mother using more focusing, refocusing and rejecting strategies.

What the above interactions demonstrate is the sociolinguistic complexity of literacy events that occur in and out of school. This very complexity makes it difficult (indeed unwise) to make simplistic statements concerning the impact of any differences that one identifies across literacy contexts or even repeated occurrences of the same type of literacy event within a single context.

As we outlined at the beginning of this paper, the data shared are but a small 'slice' of the data we have collected for these families. They demonstrate that any literacy event is not always as it seems. At a superficial level, each of the events transcribed and discussed demonstrate how parents engage and model some of reading support strategies that many classroom teachers would advocate. Indeed, one of the mothers, Val, had received instruction as part of the TTALL program (Cairney & Munsie, 1990) to provide scaffolded support for her children as part of a shared reading event. However, neither Tori's mother, nor indeed Colin's father demonstrated an approach to shared reading that was consistent with the teachers' expectations of the children when they engage in similar events at school.

For example, Tori's mother's role within the shared reading event was such that opportunities for meaning making, deeper engagement with the text and enjoyment of the text

were suppressed and in many instances lost altogether. Indeed, it is arguable that her emphasis on word and sound level support had little practical value because the interventions were often far from helpful, focussing Tori's attention on textual features that, rather than helping with decoding, often confused and overloaded short-term memory during the task.

In a similar manner, Colin's short-term memory was unable to maintain the links between ideas necessary for meaning across the whole text, due to the stop-start nature of the reading process. Prolonged pauses occur as Colin's father acts as a gatekeeper, positioned to monitor his son's word construction, even at the expense of textual meaning. It also needs to be questioned, whether rejection strategies such as Father's emphatic and repeated *"no!"* could possibly do much to support Colin in overcoming his reading difficulties.

By contrast, shared reading events in the Wiltshire family seem focused on a different goal. Trisha's mother adopts strategies which not only offer word and sound level support, but which allow for discussion about the literacy constructions within the text. Trisha is actively engaged in this event, not merely as performer, but as a co-constructor of knowledge and meaning.

By applying a simple framework for analysing the form that scaffolding takes (e.g. that developed by Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976, see also Rogoff, 1990; Cairney, 1995, for further discussion), we see many of the elements of 'good' support in these illustrations. For example, in the events involving the Sorensen and Wiltshire families, the mothers recruited the children's interest, attempted to simplify tasks, maintained pursuit of the goal, noted the inconsistencies in children's performance, sought to control frustration, and attempted to demonstrate the act of reading. While adopting far fewer scaffolding strategies, the Colin's father in the Trapp family, also attempted to maintain pursuit of the goal and noted inconsistencies.

Hence, one could assume that where there is congruence between the pedagogical practices found at home and at school, this must also reflect a degree of intersubjectivity, developed through the parents' own experience of school, parent education programs and involvement in children's education. However, such a superficial analysis without greater attention to the discourse practices, leaves us with only part of the picture. Detailed discourse analysis of the kind we have undertaken offers us the power to look more deeply at the sociolinguistic strategies that are being employed. This in turn offers us opportunities to identify how pedagogical practices need to change both in the home and at school in order to more fully support all students as literacy users. Furthermore, this increased understanding will help us to respond to the needs of parents as they seek to support their children as literacy learners.

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## Appendix 1
### Transcription Symbol Key

| Symbol | Application | Explanation |
|---|---|---|
| [ | Child: quite a [while<br>Mother: [yeah | Left brackets indicate the point at which a current speaker's talk is overlapped by another's talk. |
| = | P1: that I'm aware of=<br>P2: =Yes. Would you confirm that? | Equal signs. One at the end of a line and one at the beginning, indicates that there is no gap between the two lines. |
| (.4) | Yes (.2) yeah | Numbers in parenthesis indicate elapsed time in silence in tenths of a second. |
| (.) | To get (.) treatment | A dot in parenthesis indicates a tiny gap, probably no more than one-tenth of a second. |
| ____ | *What's up?* | Underlining indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude. |
| :: | O::kay? | Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The length of the row of colons indicates the length of the prolongation. |
| WORD | I've got ENOUGH TO WORRY ABOUT | Capitals, except at the beginnings of lines, indicate especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk. |
| .hhh | I feel that (.2) .hh | A row of h's prefixed by a dot indicates an inbreath; without a dot, an outbreath. The length of the row of h's indicates the length of the in' or outbreath. |
| ( ) | Future risks and ( ) and life ( ) | Empty parentheses indicate the transcriber's inability to hear what was said. |
| (word) | Would you see (there) anything positive | Parenthesised words indicate possible hearings |
| (( )) | confirms that ((continues)) | Double parentheses contain author's descriptions rather than transcriptions |
| . , ? ! | What do you think? | Indicate speaker's intonation |

Adapted from the work of:

Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Silverman, D. (1993). *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications

## Appendix 2

## Abbreviations, Symbols and Definitions used in Discourse Analysis

### Abbreviations

1. Initials of 'Speaker' and 'Addressee' on relevant lines
2. Q = Question; S = Statement; R = Response (+/0/-)
3. Adult speaker – Upper case; Child speaker – Lower case
4. Numbers as per descriptions in Column one.

### Symbols

Reading: △

Talk/interaction related to reading: □

Talk/ interaction not related to print: ○

### Definitions:

8. **Allocate Turn:** Deliberate act of giving another a turn at talk (Bloome & Egan-Robertson (1993).
9. **Bid for floor:** A strategy used as a deliberate bid for a turn to talk (Bloome & Egan-Robertson (1993).
10. **Clarifying:** Refers to messages meant to bring about explanations or redefinitions of a preceding behaviour. May take the form of a question or a response (Green & Wallat, 1981).
11. **Confirming:** Refers to verbal and non-verbal acceptance of preceding response (Green & Wallat, 1981).
12. **Continuance:** Verbal or non-verbal messages which provide cues to the speaker indicating that listener is following the speaker's message and the listener may continue his/her turn (Green & Wallat, 1981).
13. **Controlling:** Refers to messages concerned with the control of the interaction and/or behaviour of participants. May take the form of question or response (Green & Wallat, 1981).
14. **Editing:** Shifts or changes in content, form or strategy after the original message has begun. Encompasses false starts and words like "um", "uh". Indicates internal monitoring and/or mediating of message (Green & Wallat, 1981).
15. **Express Personal:** Expression of own feelings (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
16. **Extending:** Provides additional or new information about a topic. Can be spontaneously added or elicited. May take the form of a question or a response (Green & Wallat, 1981).
17. **Focusing:** Message may initiate discussion or aspect of discussion. Marked by shift in content of what is being discussed. Can be a question or response strategy. Coded as focusing as well as confirming, etc. when shifts focus (Green & Wallat, 1981).
18. **Ignoring:** Solely a response strategy, evident when no response forthcoming from question (Green & Wallat, 1981).
19. **Initiate Conversation:** Used to begin conversation (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
20. **Initiate Topic:** new topic of conversation placed on floor (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).

21. **Other:** Included messages used to hold the floor and indicates transitions between events (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
22. **Refocusing:** Strategy to reestablish previous question or response (Green & Wallat, 1981).
23. **Rejecting:** Rejection of previous response or "no" in response to request for confirmation (Adapted by White, in press, from Green & Wallat, 1981).
24. **Requesting:** Requesting information or action from another (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
25. **Restating:** Repetition of all or part of the previous message or original speaker either by original speaker or other person. Also refers to paraphrases of previous questions or responses (Green & Wallat, 1981).
26. **Propose:** Statements by a speaker either implicitly or explicitly formed in an effort to juxtapose past text and current conversation (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
27. **Recognise:** } Statements or actions at the intertextual level which show
28. **Acknowledgement:** } recognition and acknowledgement of links between text and conversation (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
29. **Social Consequence:** Statements or responses which identify participants as engaging/constructing meaning from text and socially as readers (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
30. **Words/Message:**
31. **Interactional Unit:**
32. **Genre:**
33. **Reading:** Constructing meaning from any written, book-based text either with parent, teacher, peer or alone.
34. **Writing:** Spontaneous symbolic representation or in response to home or school demands.
35. **School text/ reader:** Indicates focus on school-based event such as homework, school readers, stencils etc. which can also be adopted at home (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
36. **Home text:** Home book or piece of writing – not associated with school, although may be adopted at school (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
37. **School instruction or convention:** Indicates discourse around protocols associated with school. For example, style of writing, grammatical construction, correct pencil grip, position of margins etc. (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
38. **Text authority:** Authority derived from text itself (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993).
39. **Other literacies:** Not paper-based. May include use of computer, reading signs, message in music etc.

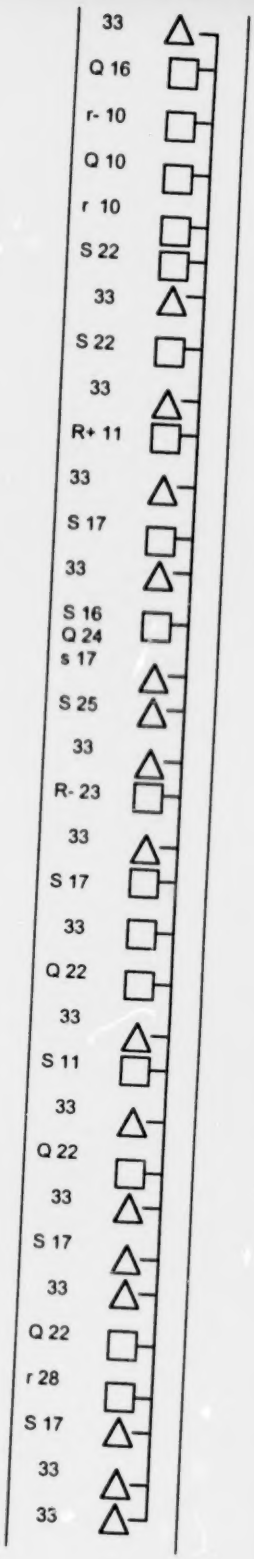
## Procedures

- In the Linked Unit column (marked LU), the unbroken arrow indicates continuity of discourse between Parent and Child.
- Where units are marked 'Thematically tied' or 'Potentially divergent' refers to the cohesion being created. Units not directly following the thread of the lesson are 'potentially divergent' (Green & Wallat, 1981).

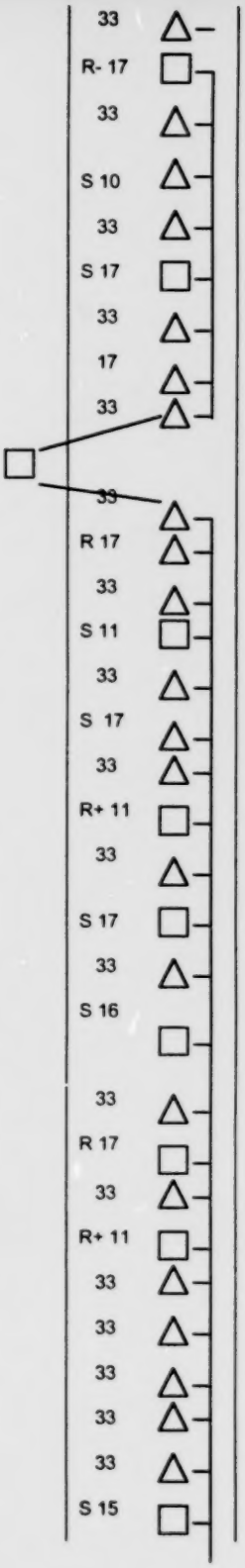
## Appendix 3.1
## Family 1 – Sorensen Family Message Analysis – Transcript Lines 001 - 192.

| Transcript Line | LU | Speaker | Message Units Transcript Text | Potentially divergent units | Thematically tied units |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01. | | Mum | OK, what book have you got today? | | Q 20 |
| 02. | | Tori | Mouse Monster | | r 11 |
| 03. | | Mum | OK, Read it for Mumma | | S 8 |
| 04. | | Tori | Mouse Monster. (.5) | | r 12 |
| 05. | | Mum | Andrew, you gonna listen to this or what? | Q 24 | |
| 06. | | Andrew | Um, yeah ((in the distance)) | r+ 11 | |
| 07. | | Tori | Theleaves was blowing in a, in the wind. The big (.6) l::ea:ves and little leaves, brown and red leaves and yellow leaves (.) they (.2) then? | | 33 |
| 08. | | Mum | when | | R 14 |
| 09. | | Tori | *When (.5)* | | 33 |
| 10. | | Mum | *Sound it out* | | S 17 |
| 11. | | Tori | 'k' ((name)) | | r 17 |
| 12. | | Mum | No, sound it out (.3) not letter (.3) 'k' ((letter sound)) | | S 17 |
| 13. | | Tori | Ka::t::ie | | r 17 |
| 14. | | Mum | Right, well, what's the word? | | Q22 |
| 15. | | Tori | Katie | | r 33 |
| 16. | | Mum | Katie | | S 33 |
| 17. | | Tori | Now (.) played (.) in (.) them. Then they cr::ied and cried | | 33 |
| 18. | | Mum | They? (.3) What did they do? (.2) What did they do? | | Q 22 |
| 19. | | Tori | Cr::i:: | | r 17 |
| 20. | | Mum | Cr:ick:led | | S17 |
| 21. | | Tori | Crickled and crickled | | 33 |
| 22. | | Mum | Uh, Uh! Cr:a= | | S 17 |
| 23. | | Tori | =ckled | | r 17 |
| 24. | | Mum | Right, now what is it? | | Q 22 |
| 25. | | Tori | They crickled and crackled | | 33 |
| 26. | | Mum | Good girl! Good girl! | | S 11 |
| 27. | | Tori | Kate | | 33 |
| 28. | | Mum | No! | | R- 23 |
| 29. | | Tori | Katie | | 33 |
| 30. | | Mum | That's good! | | S 11 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 031. | Tori | Mouse (.2) |
| 032. | Mum | I don't think mouse is there is it? Can you see the word mouse= |
| 033. | Tori | =no= |
| 034. | Mum | =or are you adding one? |
| 035. | Tori | Adding one |
| 036. | Mum | Ooh, Dear me! Let's start that one again! |
| 037. | Tori | Katie (.5) |
| 038. | Mum | Come on baby! (.2) Now remember when there's= |
| 039. | Tori | Made! |
| 040. | Mum | That's a good girl |
| 041. | Tori | H::ou::s, holes in one leaf. (.2) That was her (.5) |
| 042. | Mum | Sound it out! M::ar::s:: |
| 043. | Tori | Mask. She made holes in (.6) |
| 044. | Mum | That one's a hard one. Andrew can you help Tori with that word? That's one of your special words. |
| 045. | Andrew | An:oth:er |
| 046. | Mum | Another |
| 047. | Tori | Another leaf. (.3) That (.) |
| 048. | Mum | No! |
| 049. | Tori | That was her hat. She made holes her=in some little leaves. There (.2) |
| 050. | Mum | That one's a bit hard. These |
| 051. | Tori | These want |
| 052. | Mum | Pardon me? |
| 053. | Tori | Went on her tail |
| 054. | Mum | Good girl! |
| 055. | Tori | Kate Mouse ( ) under the swing and ( ) |
| 056. | Mum | Pardon me? |
| 057. | Tori | Katie (.2) Mo:: (.4) Mouse? Di:: |
| 058. | Mum | D:a:n:ced |
| 059. | Tori | Danced around= |
| 060. | Mum | Pardon me? U:n:d:er |
| 061. | Tori | Oh |
| 062. | Mum | U:n:d:er |
| 063. | Tori | Under? The (.2) swing (.) and she d:a:n:= |
| 064. | Mum | =As she danced |

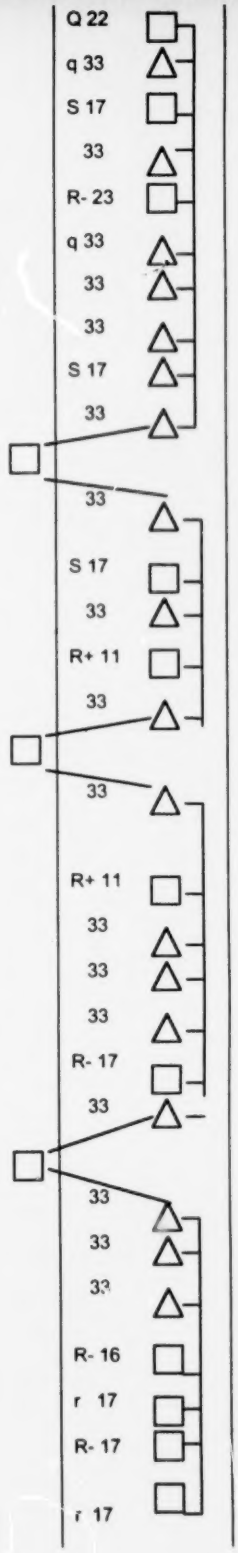


| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 065. | Tori | She crackled? | 33 |
| 066. | Mum | No, look at the word | R- 17 |
| 067. | Tori | Cri:ck:led and crackled. I am a mouse (.) monster she (.) sang. (.6) She danced into (.) the (.) Mouse house. Mother? | 33 |
| 068. | Mum | Mumma! | S 10 |
| 069. | Tori | Mumma mouse (.) was (.) making ( ) | 33 |
| 070. | Mum | C:a:k:e= | S 17 |
| 071. | Tori | =cake= | 33 |
| 072. | Mum | =s | 17 |
| 073. | Tori | Cakes. Katie ( ) | 33 |
| 074. | Mum | Tori please! (( | S 29 |
| 075. | Tori | Cri:::ckled and crackled as:keed? | 33 |
| 076. | Mum | Asked | R 17 |
| 077. | Tori | Asked Mumma (.) Mouse. | 33 |
| 078. | Mum | That was a really good try for asked, darlin", OK? | S 11 |
| 079. | Tori | No, sh::ooted= | 33 |
| 080. | Mum | =sh:ou:ted | S 17 |
| 081. | Tori | Shouted Katie. This is a big mouse monster. | 33 |
| 082. | Mum | Very good! | R+ 11 |
| 083. | Tori | It (.) is(.) said Mumma Mouse. (.4)Why did (.2) did (.2) didn't I see that before. (giggles)) I am w:ild ((spoken with shortened vowel)) | 33 |
| 084. | Mum | Right, Now that's wild | S 17 |
| 085. | Tori | Wild | 33 |
| 086. | Mum | Wild ((said with shortened vowel)) is very good darling. You did try very hard but that one goes to its name, not to its sound. English is a very, very hard language to learn | S 16 |
| 087. | Tori | Wild and (.9) | 33 |
| 088. | Mum | That's sav:::age | R 17 |
| 089. | Tori | Savage | 33 |
| 090. | Mum | Good | R+ 11 |
| 091. | Tori | Said (.) the (.) Mouse monster::: I (.) am (.) | 33 |
| 092. | Mum | Fierce | 33 |
| 093. | Tori | Fierce and | 33 |
| 094. | Mum | Ferocious | 33 |
| 095. | Tori | Ferocious | 33 |
| 096. | Mum | Oh, They're very hard words to say, aren't they? | S 15 |

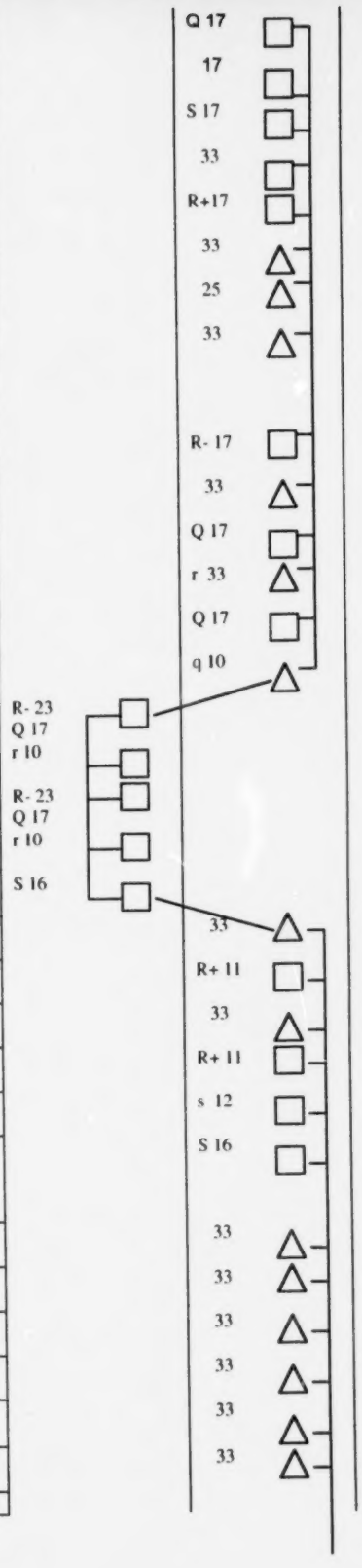


| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 097. | Tori | And I am going to eat you:: ((giggles)). Ooh said Mumma Mouse. I must= | 33 |
| 098. | Mum | =OK, we need to try and sound this one. Es::c:a::pe | S 17 |
| 099. | Tori | Escalate? | 33 |
| 0100. | Mum | Es::cape | S 17 |
| 0101. | Tori | Escape | 33 |
| 0102. | Mum | Escape | 25 |
| 0103. | Tori | And (.) she (.) hid (.) under the | 33 |
| 0104. | Mum | What's that? Now remember when there's a 'e' ((name))= | S 16 |
| 0105. | Tori | TROUBLE | 33 |
| 0106. | Mum | No, when there's a, where's a 'r' ((sound)). When there's an 'e' ((name)) on the end, the vowels, and what are your vowels can you remember what ya vowels are? | S 22<br>16 |
| 0107. | Tori | a e i o u ((names)) | r 12 |
| 0108. | Mum | Good girl! When there's an 'e' ((name)) on the end, the vowels go to their name, not to their sound. OK, so 't' ((sound)) a ((name)) ble ((sound combination)) | S 16 |
| 0109. | Tori | Table | 33 |
| 0110. | Mum | Good girl! | R+ 11 |
| 0111. | Tori | And she hid under the table | 33 |
| 0112. | Mum | Good girl! | R+ 11 |
| 0113. | Tori | Mouse Monster a::: How come the 'a' sounds like an 'e'? | q 10 |
| 0114. | Mum | A:: ((name)) Look at the word= | R 17 |
| 0115. | Tori | =ate a cake (.2) then (.4) dan::ced ((trying to pronounce it darnced)) | 33 |
| 0116. | Mum | Danced (pronounced denced)) | 33 |
| 0117. | Tori | How come the 'a' ((name)) sound like an 'e' ((name))? | q 19<br>16 |
| 0118. | Mum | No, the 'a' doesn't sound like an 'e'. It sounds like an 'a' because dance has an 'e' on the end, so you have to make the 'a' ((sound)) an 'a' ((name)). Remember? | R 17 |
| 0119. | Tori | Danced ((pronounced denced)) | 33 |
| 0120. | Mum | That's right! | R+ 11 |
| 0121. | Tori | I can't see an 'e' ((name)) in it! | s 16 |
| 0122. | Mum | D::an::ced= | S 17 |
| 0123. | Tori | =D:e:n:ced | 33 |
| 0124. | Mum | Yeak, it is denced, oh, I dunno. OK then danced | S 15 |
| 0125. | Tori | Ou::out::side | 33 |
| 0126. | Mum | Good girl! | R+ 11 |
| 0127. | Tori | Pa:ppa | 33 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0128. | Mum | What is it? | |
| 0129. | Tori | Papa Mouse was (.2) hiding? | |
| 0130. | Mum | It's 'a' ((sound)) (.5) H:a:ng:i:ng | |
| 0131. | Tori | hanging the washing on the line. (.2) Pass (.) please | |
| 0132. | Mum | No! (.2) You said that word. | |
| 0133. | Tori | Plug? | |
| 0134. | Mum | Pass | |
| 0135. | Tori | Pass me (.) a p:i: ((sounds)) | |
| 0136. | Mum | P: e: ((sounds)) | |
| 0137. | Tori | peg | |
| 0138. | Mum | Tori! (.5) p:l:ea:: | S 13 |
| 0139. | Tori | Please? Katie (.) he said. I am not Katie. I am a tr::ouble? Kate laughed and laughed and said ( ) crinkling and crackling. Then ( ) | |
| 0140. | Mum | T:e:rr:: Sound it out! | |
| 0141. | Tori | Terr::ible? | |
| 0142. | Mum | Good girl! | |
| 0143. | Tori | Terrible Mouse monster:::: | |
| 0144. | Mum | Tori! | S 13 |
| 0145. | Tori | with sharp teeth she cried. I can see what (.3), I can see that now said Pappa Mouse. Get away from me you (.2) horrible monster, and Pappa hid behind the sheet. | |
| 0146. | Mum | Good girl! | |
| 0147. | Tori | K:K:Katie la::: | |
| 0148. | Mum | Laughed | |
| 0149. | Tori | Laughed (.) and laughed and she danced in the lea::ves. Cry:: | |
| 0150. | Mum | No, cr::ick: | |
| 0151. | Tori | Crickle! | |
| 0152. | Mum | Read the book! | S 13 |
| 0153. | Tori | Crick:: | |
| 0154. | Mum | Crickling | |
| 0155. | Tori | Crickling and crackling. (.4) Then (.) a big (.5) gu:::s:: | |
| 0156. | Mum | No! What is when you say ( ) no it's not an 'a' ((sound)). What is that? | |
| 0157. | Tori | 'g' ((name)) | |
| 0158. | Mum | No, the next one. | |
| 0159. | Tori | 'u' ((name)) | |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 160. | Mum | What is the sound? |
| 161. | Tori | 'u' ((sound)) |
| 162. | Mum | Right, Now sound it! |
| 163. | Tori | G::u::s::t |
| 164. | Mum | Okay, say it qickly! |
| 165. | Tori | Gust |
| 166. | Mum | Gust |
| 167. | Tori | Then came a big gust of wind. It blew all the leaves in a ( ). (.2) Off came Katie's mask. Off came her hat. Off came her leaves from her tail. (.5). Katie mouse was blown over and over and over in the wind. She was (.4) found? |
| 168. | Mum | No! (.3) fri:::fright:::: |
| 169. | Tori | Frightened? Pappa, Pappa she ca::: |
| 170. | Mum | What's that? |
| 171. | Tori | all |
| 172. | Mum | all! What's that? |
| 173. | Tori | crall? |
| 174. | Mum | No! where's the 'r' ((sound))? Sound it! |
| 175. | Tori | Cr::: ((beginning to cry)) |
| 176. | Mum | No! Not 'cr' ((sound combination)) WHAT IS THAT SOUND? |
| 177. | Tori | 'c' ((sound)) ((crying)) |
| 178. | Mum | 'c' ((sound)). No, if that's 'all' ((sound combination)), what is that word? |
| 179. | Tori | C::all= |
| 180. | Mum | =c:all! c:all! Right! |
| 181. | Tori | Called |
| 182. | Mum | Good girl. |
| 183. | Tori | I don't know that word. |
| 184. | Mum | Well what you've got to do when you find a big word like that. If there's a little word inside it that you know, and if you do, then you take the first little bit, then the word and then the last little bit. |
| 185. | Tori | I am not (.3) all? |
| 186. | Mum | Really |
| 187. | Tori | Really a monster. I am |
| 188. | Mum | I'm! |
| 189. | Tori | I'm your Katie Mouse. (.3) Pappa (.) la::: |
| 190. | Mum | laughed |
| | | |



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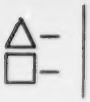
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0191. | Tori | Laughed. Katie Mouse I love you, I love (.) you (.) too, he said. | 33 |
| 0192. | Mum | Good girl. That was very good | R+ 11 |

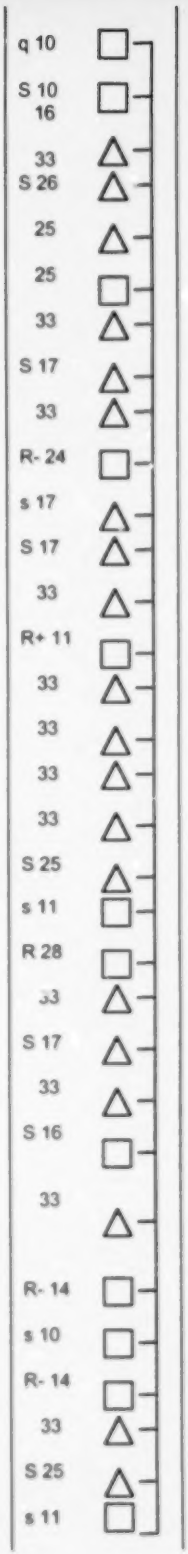


## Appendix 3.2

### Family 2 - Wiltshire Family Message Analysis – Transcript Lines 01 - 78.

| Transcript Line | LU | Speaker | Message Units Transcript Text | Potentially divergent units | Thematically tied units |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01. | | Mum | Which story are we reading? | | Q 20 |
| 02. | | Trisha | The 'Big Alfie and Annie Rose Story Book' | | r 12 |
| 03. | | Mum | Now Ruby, you sit still and look at the pictures, OK? ((a directive to younger child)) | | S 13 |
| 04. | | Trisha | Breakfast! (.) Early one morning Alfie helps his (.) | | 33 |
| 05. | | Mum | Helped | | 33 |
| 06. | | Trisha | Helped his baby sister Annie Rose out of her cot and they went downstairs=Alfie | | 33 |
| 07. | | Mum | No! look at that! Fullstop! So take a breath. | | S 16 |
| 08. | | Trisha | Alfie went down forwards without holding on to the (.) bars | | 33 |
| 09. | | Ruby | ((gurgles in background)) | | |
| 10. | | Mum | Ban:nis:ter | | R 17 |
| 11. | | Trisha | Bannister. Annie Rose went down backwards, feet first. Dad was in the kitchen having his breakfast so Alfie and Annie Rose (.) enjoyed? | | 33 |
| 12. | | Mum | No, joined! | | R- 14 |
| 13. | | Trisha | Joined him and had breakfast too. Alfie sat up and (.) at the table and in a proper chair. He had a ch:: china | | 33 |
| 14. | | Mum | Yes, good girl!= | | R+ 11 |
| 15. | | Trisha | =Bowl with bears mar::, marching | | 33 |
| 16. | | Mum | Yes, good girl! | | R+ 11 |
| 17. | | Trisha | All around the edge. Annie Rose sat in her high chair with the tray in front. She had a place::: | | 33 |
| 18. | | Mum | Plas::tic | | S 17 |
| 19. | | Trisha | Plastic drink:: mug | | 33 |
| 20. | | Mum | Drink::ing | | S 17 |
| 21 | | Trisha | Drinking mug and bowl and her own little spoon. | | 33 |
| 22. | | Mum | There she is, sitting up in her chair ((pointing to illustration for Ruby)) | | S 10 |
| 23. | | Ruby | Mine! ((gurgling happily – recognises high chair as being like her own)) | | |
| 24. | | Mum | Where's the high chair? ((responding to Ruby)) | | Q 17 |
| 25. | | Trisha | While Alfie was eating up his cereal, Annie Rose pre:tend:ed she was playing in a band. She tram::: | | 33 |
| 26. | | Mum | Dr::um:::ed | | S 17 |
| 27. | | Ruby | Dum:::= | | s 25 |
| 28. | | Trisha | =Drummed her spoon on the tray. Ring a ding | | 33 |
| 29. | | Ruby | Ring, ding | | s 25 |
| 30. | | Trisha | Bong a dong. And sang very loudly. More. More, more cried= | | 33 |
| 31. | | Mum | Groaned doolay | | S 17 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 32. | Trisha | Doolay? |
| 33. | Mum | It's just baby words, really, not proper words |
| 34. | Trisha | Bad |
| 35. | Mum | Dad |
| 36. | Trisha | Dad |
| 37. | Ruby | Dad |
| 38. | Trisha | Is |
| 39. | Mum | hid |
| 40. | Trisha | Be::neath |
| 41. | Mum | No! what is that? |
| 42. | Ruby | Beneath |
| 43. | Mum | Be::hi:: |
| 44. | Trisha | Behind the Corn Flakes packet |
| 45. | Mum | Mmm, Good girl. |
| 46. | Trisha | Annie Rose was singing and playing (.2) before? |
| 47. | Mum | because |
| 48. | Trisha | Because it was so noisy. (.5) ((tape off and on as Ruby interrupts story)) |
| 49. | Trisha | ( ) with it in his bowl. Instead= |
| 50. | Mum | =instead. in his bowl instead |
| 51. | Trisha | I said instead! |
| 52. | Mum | Mmhh, I know! |
| 53 | Trisha | He made the crumble= |
| 54. | Mum | =crumbly |
| 55. | Trisha | Crumbly biscuits into an 'is' ((sound combination)) |
| 56. | Mum | I ((name)) land! It sounds like ' ((name)) land, but the 's' ((name)) is silent. It is island. That's what it looks like doesn't it? |
| 57. | Trisha | Island, with a sea of milk all around. But soon the island got all soccy and (.) soggy and he gave each bear a piece of it (.) with the tip of his spoon. Alfie |
| 58. | Mum | No! |
| 59. | Trisha | I said Alfie? |
| 60. | Mum | No, it's not Alfie |
| 61. | Trisha | After (.) that (.) brek, his breakfast looked rather messy |
| 62. | Mum | After that his breakfast looked rather messy, well it did too didn't it? |
| 63. | Trisha | Mm, mh |



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 64. | Mum | Would you like me to read one page? | Q 12 |
| 65. | Trisha | Yep | r+ 12 |
| 66. | Mum | Then Alfie kindly started to help Annie Rose with her breakfast. He filled up her drinking mug with milk. Annie Rose could drink it very well by herself, but when she held it up she started to drip the rest on her tray and on the floor, so they had to get the floor cloth and mop it up. Annie Rose=why don't you go and choose yourself a book Ruby? Annie Rose could eat out of her bowl too when she wanted to. Alfie helped her hold her spoon up. But today she couldn't make up her mind where her breakfast was supposed to go. She tried putting it in her ear, then into her hair, then she started to spread it all over the place. Quite a bit of it went down her front. Put it in here Annie Rose, said Alfie opening his mouth very wide | 33 |
| 67. | Trisha | ((continuing to read again)) Then Annie Rose opened her mouth very wide (.) too | 33 |
| 68. | Mum | Then Annie Rose opened her mouth very wide too, and? | S 25 |
| 69. | Trisha | And put (.2) in a big spoonful. Mummy it says 'spoon' and then it's got full= | 33 |
| 70. | Mum | =that's right spoonful!= | R+ 11 |
| 71. | Trisha | =a compound word. | s 16 |
| 72. | Mum | Spoon ful | S 11 |
| 73. | Trisha | spoonful of break::fast | 33 |
| 74. | Mum | Yes | R+ 11 |
| 75. | Trisha | All by herself. Look Annie Rose (.3) is (.) eating up her breakfast (.) shood= | 33 |
| 76. | Mum | =shouted | S 17 |
| 77. | Trisha | Shouted Alfie, eating his ( ). | 33 |
| 78. | Mum | Well done, that was beautifully done! | R+ 28 |

## Appendix 3.3
### Family 3 – Trapp Family Message Analysis - Transcript Lines 101 - 181.

| Transcript Line | LU | Speaker | Message Units Transcript Text | Potentially divergent units | Thematically tied units |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 101. | | Colin | Watched by Trevor, Juniper screamed:::screamed to a (.) | | 33 |
| 102. | | Dad | No! | | R-23 |
| 103. | | Colin | Screeched to a halt in the wet cond::iti (.) t | | 33 |
| 104. | | Dad | No! | | R-23 |
| 105. | | Colin | Wet cont::ain:d | | 33 |
| 106. | | Dad | *No, we said it before!* | | R-17 |
| 107. | | Colin | *Wet con:cr:tained? (.2) wet conc::ret?* | | 33 |
| 108. | | Dad | No! | | R-23 |
| 109. | | Colin | Contained? | | 33 |
| 110. | | Dad | No! | | R-23 |
| 111. | | Colin | Oh what was it? ((beginning to whine)) | | q 24 |
| 112. | | Dad | What was he doing? What was he doing? | | Q 22 |
| 113. | | Colin | He was (.3) stopping? | | q 11 |
| 114. | | Dad | No! What was Trevor doing before? | | R-23<br>Q 16 |
| 115. | | Colin | Oh (.2) he was concreting? | | r 10 |
| 116. | | Dad | Yeah, Ok so what is it? | | Q 12 |
| 117. | | Colin | Concreting (.) outside the cafe | | 33 |
| 118. | | Dad | No, say it again! | | R-17 |
| 119. | | Colin | Concreting | | 33 |
| 120. | | Dad | No, he was concreting, but what does the word say? | | R-22 |
| 121. | | Colin | Wet concrete outside the café (.2) Digging? | | 33 |
| 122. | | Dad | No! | | R-23 |
| 123. | | Colin | During the= | | 33 |
| 124. | | Dad | =No | | R-23 |
| 125. | | Colin | (.2) dragging the hose from= | | 33 |
| 126. | | Dad | =No! | | R-23 |
| 127. | | Colin | Hose, the fireman pushed= | | 33 |
| 128. | | Dad | =No! | | R-23 |
| 129. | | Colin | Down= | | 33 |
| 130. | | Dad | =No! | | R-23 |
| 131. | | Colin | Rashed (.) down | | 33 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 132. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 133. | Colin | The back= | 33 |
| 134. | Dad | =No! come on! | R-17 |
| 135. | Colin | Rushed round the back to the bonfire. What, what's going on at (.2) on at Bella's, (.) Bella's, asked Norman coming out of the shop to watch. But it was too late. Ali that was left on the= | 33 |
| 136. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 137. | Colin | (.) left, left of the, bella's pile (.) of rubbish with a few smoke (.2) as (.4) remaining | 33 |
| 138. | Dad | No! Start again, a few | R-22 |
| 139. | Colin | Smoking? | 33 |
| 140. | Dad | Yeah | R+ 11 |
| 141. | Colin | Smoking (.2) rammage? | 33 |
| 142. | Dad | Not quite! | R 14 |
| 143. | Mum | Rem:mai:ns | 33 |
| 144. | Dad | Mmmm | R 11 |
| 145. | Colin | Remains and there was no sign of the briefcase. Well, that's it said Fireman Sam. Three thousand pounds= | 33 |
| 146. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 147. | Colin | (.3) three hundred pounds up in smoke. We've never= | 33 |
| 148. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 149. | Colin | We'll= | 33 |
| 150. | Dad | =No | R-23 |
| 151. | Colin | Smoke. I'll never (.) I'll never repair that= | 33 |
| 152. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 153 | Colin | I'll never repay that. (.7) It's (.2) as we | 33 |
| 154. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 155. | Colin | As it (.) as it's (.2) you = | 33 |
| 156. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 157. | Colin | As (.) as it's (.2) for you (.) as it's for you Bella= | 33 |
| 158. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 159. | Colin | As, as it's for you (.) Bella (.) I'll give you= | 33 |
| 160. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 161. | Colin | I'll have one last go, one last go at this job. Trevor ag:red? Greed, agreed with a weari (.) wearing= | 33 |
| 162. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 163. | Colin | Wetting? | 33 |



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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 164. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 165. | Colin | Wearin? | 33 |
| 166. | Dad | Close! | R 14 |
| 167. | Colin | Wear::y (.2) wear:y, weary? | 33 |
| 168. | Dad | Mmmm | R 11 |
| 169. | Colin | Weary ( ) as he looked at the tyre marks in the wet concrete. But it's= | 33 |
| 170. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 171. | Colin | But this may= | 33 |
| 172. | Dad | =No! | R-23 |
| 173. | Colin | But this is my last try (.) again= | 33 |
| 174. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 175. | Colin | My last try. Anymore marks (.) with (.) with | 33 |
| 176. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 177. | Colin | Any more marks (.3) anymore (.3) marks will have to stay, stay! He said? | 33 |
| 178. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 179. | Colin | He didn't see Norman grinning (.) as he listened, listened around the concr:: | 33 |
| 180. | Dad | No! | R-23 |
| 181. | Colin | Concrete? | 33 |